Chapter 5

An overview of Afrikaans verbal phenomena

In the first part of this dissertation, pseudo-coordination in English was explored and a typology of pseudo-coordination developed. It was proposed that coordination may apply to features of heads. In the following chapters, this approach is expanded and deepened through an exploration of Afrikaans pseudo-coordinative structures of the following kind.

(1) a. *Jan sal die boeke sit en lees*
Jan will the books sit and read
'Jan will sit reading the books'

b. *Jan sit die boeke en lees*
Jan sit the books and read
'Jan sits reading the books'

c. *Jan sit en lees die boeke*
Jan sit and read the books
'Jan sits reading the books'

It is immediately apparent that Afrikaans pseudo-coordinations are slightly different to English ConCo constructions. The underlined pseudo-coordinative verbal string is not contiguous and may be broken up by verb-second (1b) as well as by certain XPs when the verbal string is *in situ*. There is also the curious phenomenon where a pseudo-coordinative verbal string appears to occur in the second position of the clause, a position usually reserved for single verbs (1c).

Several questions spring to mind, among them, (i) where do Afrikaans pseudo-coordinative constructions fit into the proposed typology (ii) what is the best way to represent this type of pseudo-coordinative construction and (iii) how can the pseudo-coordinative verb-second effect be accounted for. However, before these questions can be answered, it is necessary to outline some important background assumptions about Afrikaans and how it should be approached.

5.1 Selected characteristics of the Afrikaans verbal system

In this section I will give a brief overview of some characteristics of Afrikaans verbal syntax which may be relevant to subsequent discussion. It will be demonstrated that Afrikaans has no overt verbal morphology on lexical verbs, although the remnants of a present/past distinction are still visible on some modals and copulas. Then, verb-second in Afrikaans will be introduced as well as a peculiar property of Afrikaans, namely the occurrence of a complex predicate string in the second position of root clauses.

5.1.1 Classes of verbs and verbal complements

The Afrikaans verbal system represents one of the most dramatic differences between Afrikaans and European Germanic varieties (Du Plessis 1990:74). The language has developed a complex system of functional verbs. Principal among these are indirect linking verbs (ILVs)and direct linking verbs (DLVs).[1] Other verbal classes include auxiliaries, modals, verbs taking *te*-complements. Since I will refer to these classes repeatedly, I provide a brief, non-exhaustive overview here and outline a few of the ways in which they differ to similar verbs in other OV verb-second languages like Dutch and German. Additional properties of these classes will be discussed when they become relevant.

Auxiliaries: Afrikaans auxiliaries include those based on HAVE and BE. There is no simple, preterite past tense except with some modals. Afrikaans usually expresses the past tense with a complex tense form using the past auxiliary *het* 'have.AUX.PST' combined with a participle which is ambiguous between perfective and imperfective aspect (De Vos 2003b, Van der Kleij 1999). Afrikaans also does not have auxiliary switch triggered by unaccusatives as in Dutch. The only Afrikaans verb which obligatorily takes BE as an auxiliary is *wees* 'be'.[2]

Modals: Some typical Afrikaans modals are listed in the table. The imperfect forms of these modals are *kon*, *mog*, *moes*, *sou* and *wou* respectively. Note that *mog* is archaic and very infrequently used. In addition, verbs such as *behoort* 'ought to', *durf* 'dare to', and *hoef* '(not) to need to (NPI)', also occasionally play a modal role (Donaldson 1993:247). The verb *gaan* 'will (lit. 'go')' also acts as a future modal when it occurs in the second position.[3]

Direct Linking Verbs: Functional verbs selecting bare verbal complements are called

[1]. The term skakelwerkwoord was first used by Ponelis (1968).

[2]The past copula *was* 'be.pst' is increasingly used in Afrikaans past passives, but is regarded as an anglicism (Donaldson 1993:241). The imperfect form of the auxiliary *het* is *had* 'be.pst' but this is archaic and very seldom heard in ordinary contexts.

[3]When *gaan* 'go' appears elsewhere in the clause it seems to lose much of its future interpretation. This will be discussed in section (7.A.1).

Table 5.1: Afrikaans verbal classes

Auxiliaries	Modals	DLVs	ILVs	*te* selectors
het 'have.AUX' *is* 'be.AUX.PASS'	*kan* 'be able' *moet* 'must' *mag* 'may' *sal* 'will' *wil* 'want' *gaan* 'will'	*loop* 'walk' *kom* 'come' *begin* 'begin' *laat* 'CAUS' *bly* 'stay' *gaan* 'go' *help* 'help' *leer* 'learn' *probeer* 'try'	*loop* 'walk' *sit* 'sit' *lê* 'lie down' *staan* 'stand'	*behoort* 'ought' *durf* 'to dare' *begin* 'begin' *blyk* 'appear' *skyn* 'seem'

Direct Linking Verbs (DLVs).[4] The class includes a variety of different verbal types and is probably not a homogeneous class (De Villiers 1951, De Vos 2001). Some DLVs are grammaticalized and occur in IPP constructions (De Villiers 1951, Ponelis 1979). Given the non-homogeneous nature of the class of DLVs, it is particularly important to use unambiguous, core members of this class (i.e. *kom* 'to come' and *bly* 'to stay/to continue doing') when pursuing generalizations.

Indirect Linking Verbs: Functional verbs selecting a verbal complement headed by a pseudo-coordinative marker, *en* 'and', are called Indirect Linking Verbs (ILVs). They encode progressivity and may also have pejorative, hendiadys-type interpretations. They are not purely aspectual as they do seem to retain some of their lexical meaning (Ponelis (1979:241), Donaldson (1993:220)). They denote a manner component of the activity and consequently must be cotemporaneous with the activity denoted by the lexical verb.

Verbs selecting *te*-Complements: Some functional verbs select a verbal complement headed by an infinitival marker *te* 'to'. These verbs usually cannot select a CP complement with the infinitival complementizer, *om*, in C^0. The class is not homogeneous and can be divided into two types selecting AgrOP and TP complements respectively (Robbers 1997). Some verbs are ambiguous between both classes.

Needless to say, this list and description are not comprehensive and there is also dialectal variation concerning which verbs fall into which class. In particular, verbs like *gaan* 'go/will', *laat* 'allow/CAUS' and *begin* 'begin' are ambiguous between several classes. These different classes of verbs can be ranked in a functional hierarchy of functional heads (De Vos 2001). The general hierarchy is as follows.[5]

(2) Aux $\gg$ Mod $\gg$ DLV $\gg$ ILV $\gg$ *en* $\gg$ LexV

Within each class there also exists a hierarchy of verbs, although some variation exists in the class of DLVs with respect to some of the less prototypical members. The data motivating the relative rankings of DLVs are too numerous to reproduce here, but see De Vos (2001). The entire hierarchy is as follows.

(3) Type-A verbs $\gg$ Type-B verbs $\gg$ $Modal_{necessity} \gg modal_{ability} \gg \ldots \gg gaan_{future} \gg beter_{obligative} \gg$ perception verbs $\gg gaan_{ingressive} \gg ophou_{terminative} \gg laat_{permissive} \gg aanhou_{durative}$ /$bly_{durative} \gg help_I \gg$ probeer $\gg laat_{causative} \gg begin_{inchoativeI} \gg$ kom $\gg loop_{andative}$ /leer $\gg help_{II} \gg loop_{ILV}$ /$kom_{ILV} \gg sit_{ILV}$ /$l\hat{e}_{ILV} \gg$ Lexical Verbs

[4] They are called 'Direct' because they directly select a verbal complement without the need of a 'subordinative' marker like *te* 'to' or *en* 'and'.

[5] Van Niekerk (1995) explores a similar system based on a fuzzy gradient of relative 'auxiliaryness'.

5.1.2 Verbal inflection

With the exception of the past-tense prefix and the remnants of imperfective marking on some modals, Afrikaans does not mark verbs for person, number, tense and –what Ponelis (1993) calls– 'inflectional class' (i.e. regular vs irregular paradigms).[6] This is demonstrated by the following paradigm: the form of the verb remains invariant regardless of which pronoun is used. The same applies to modals.

(4) a. *Ek* *eet*
I.1SG eat

b. *Jy* *eet*
you.2SG eat

c. *Hy/sy/dit* *eet*
he/she/it.3SG eat

d. *Ons* *eet*
we.1PL eat

e. *Julle* *eet*
you.2PL eat

f. *Hulle* *eet*
they.3PL eat

g. *U* *eet*
You.HON eat

Afrikaans does exhibit a present/past distinction on modals and the copula. The present/past distinction on the past auxiliary *het* 'AUX.have' is archaic, and on the passive auxiliary *is* 'be.pass' such a distinction is an anglicism.[7]

(5) a. *Ek* *is/was*
I.1SG be.PRES/be.PST

b. *Ek* *het/??had* *'n* *boek*
I have/have.PST a book

c. *Ek* *sal/sou*
I will/will.PST

d. *Ek* *kan/kon*
I can/can.PST

e. *Ek* *wil/wou*
I want/want.PST

[6] Donaldson (1993:239) claims that only the verbs *hê* 'have.INF' and *wees* 'be.INF' have distinct finite and non-finite forms.

[7] In these glosses I take the present-tense form to actually be underspecified and that the past-tense form of the verb is specified for past tense. The exception is the verb BE *is* 'be.PRES', which also has an infinitival form *om te wees* 'to be'.

f. *Ek* *moet/moes*
I must/must.PST

Note that for (5b), the imperfective form *had* is archaic, as is the imperfective form of *mag* 'may', namely *mog* (Donaldson 1993).

The past-tense forms of modals can also occur, within a clause, in the scope of another past-tense modal. This is known as preterite assimilation: the assimilation of modals to a preterite context (Ponelis 1979:270).

(6) *Ek het nooit kon dink sy sou dit wees nie*
I AUX.have never can.PST think she would.PST it be NEG
'I would never have thought that she would have been it' (De Villiers 1968:29)

(7) *Hulle sou wou help*
they shall.PST want.PST help
'They would want to help' (Ponelis 1993:440)

(8) *Picasso sou kon lekker bly in Hartenbos se hand*
Picasso shall.PST can.PST nice stay in Hartenbos POSS hand
'Picasso would have been able to live nicely in the hand of Hartenbos' (Kombuis 2002)

Preterite assimilation probably should not be regarded as a distinct tense, but merely as a morphological variant of the modal.[8] Preterite assimilation is most common with modals following *sou* 'shall.PST'. Instances with verbs like *moet* 'must', *kan* 'can' and *behoort* 'ought to' are much more sporadic although they do exist (De Villiers 1968:29).

Abstracting away from the remnants of imperfective marking on modals, Afrikaans uses periphrastic methods of expressing tense. For instance, the past tense, which is ambiguous between perfective and imperfective readings, uses the past auxiliary *het* 'AUX.have' and a past participle prefix *ge-* on the verb (De Vos 2003b, Van der Kleij 1999). I argue in De Vos (2003b) that the Afrikaans participle marker is in fact a kind of tense marker (marking the Reference Time, Event Time relationship: [R,E]) while the auxiliary expresses the relation between Reference Time and Situation Time: [R-S].

(9) a. *Ek* *het* *geëet*
I.1SG have PST-eat

b. *Jy* *het* *geëet*
you.2SG have PST-eat

c. *Hy/sy/dit* *het* *geëet*
he/she/it.3SG have PST-eat

[8]For instance, 'infinitival' equivalents are usually possible, although marked and are usually characteristic of very formal style (De Villiers 1968, Ponelis 1979). In addition, there are even some (marked) examples of 'past' modals in *om te* infinitives. This is evidence that the so-called 'past' forms of modals are merely morphological variants (De Villiers 1968:30).

d. *Ons* *het* *geëet*
we.1PL have PST-eat

e. *Julle* *het* *geëet*
you.2PL have PST-eat

f. *Hulle* *het* *geëet*
they.3PL have PST-eat

g. *U* *het* *geëet*
you.HON have PST-eat

This section presented a brief introduction to the Afrikaans verbal system. Afrikaans verbs have no inflectional marking for tense, person or agreement. Although some modals do display what is seemingly tense marking, whether it is truly a reflection of tense is brought into question by phenomena like preterite assimilation. Furthermore, Afrikaans has developed a complex set of functional verbs which express aspect. The existence of this flexible array of functional verbs combined with the lack of overt inflectional morphology on verbs will play an important role in determining the options available to the Afrikaans grammatical system.

5.2 Verb second in Germanic and Afrikaans

In the Afrikaans sections of this dissertation, I will be discussing verb movement to T in Afrikaans. For this reason, I provide a brief overview of my assumptions regarding verb movement here.

Afrikaans, like other North Germanic and West Germanic tongues (excluding modern English) exhibits verb-second in root clauses. This phenomenon is characterized by the finite verb being located in the second position of root clauses with some other XP preceding it. Typically, the pattern exhibits a matrix/embedded alternation, although Icelandic, Yiddish and Faroese are well known exceptions to this rule.

Usually, this has been analysed as V-I-C movement with an XP in Spec CP (Den Besten 1989). More recently, Zwart (1997) has argued that, in Dutch matrix clauses, the subject is not in Spec CP but in Spec TP with the verb heading T. Similar data are not so apparent in Afrikaans in the absence of the pronominal clitics on which this argument is based. However, this does not affect the argument I make in this dissertation, since I will be focussing on verb movement to T.

In embedded clauses, in the particular analysis that Zwart (1997) employs, the formal features of finite verbs raise to T and C. However, since C is already lexicalised by a complementizer, there is no need for the lexico-phonological features of the verb to raise to C. Consequently, at Spell out the lexico-phonological features of the finite verb are spelled out *in situ* although the formal features have raised. Nevertheless, their formal features migrate to T. In traditional terms, one might say that the verb does not move to T or C in embedded clauses.[9]

[9]The analysis of Zwart (1997) presupposes that narrow syntactic operations may operate on features within feature bundles. This is a property that is explored in this dissertation.

I will assume that Zwart's analysis is basically correct insofar as verb-second is analysed as feature movement. I will ignore, for the moment, the assumption characteristic of early Minimalist theory that verbs raise to check morphological features (Chomsky 1995b, Solà 1996). Obviously, since Afrikaans does not have any verbal inflection to speak of it would be incorrect to claim that Afrikaans finite verbs raise to satisfy morphological criteria. The question of whether verbs subsequently raise from T to C in root clauses, does not concern me directly, since I will focus almost exclusively on V-to-T movement in Afrikaans.

5.2.1 Verb second in Afrikaans

Verb second in Afrikaans has similarities and differences to verb-movement in Dutch and German. In the standard language, Afrikaans displays a matrix/embedded asymmetry in much the same way as do Dutch, German and the majority of the other verb-second languages of continental Europe and mainland Scandinavia. That is, the matrix, finite verb moves from V, through T (to C) in matrix clauses but remains *in situ* in embedded clauses.

(10) a. *Jan maak elke dag potjiekos*
Jan make every day potjiekos
'Jan makes potjiekos every day'[10]

b. *. . . dat Jan elke dag potjiekos maak*
that Jan every day potjiekos make
'. . . that Jan makes potjiekos everyday'

In this respect, Afrikaans verbal syntax looks rather like verb-second syntax in Dutch and German. Accordingly, my approach to verb-second phenomena is essentially identical to analyses of verb-second in these languages. Following standard assumptions the finite verb moves to T and thereafter to C, resulting in the verb appearing in the 'second position' in the clause.

(11) a. *Jan eet altyd appels*
Jan eet always apples
'Jan always eats apples'

b. *Jan wil nie appels eet nie*
Jan want not apples eet neg.AGR
'Jan doesn't want to eat apples'

Thus in example (11a), the finite lexical verb is in the second position of the sentence. It thus occurs to the left of adverbs. In (11b), a modal is in second position with

[10]Note that *potjiekos*, is a hugely popular, South African cuisine based on cooking in a three-legged, cast-iron pot over an open fire. Life is too short not to try it.

the lexical verb occurring to the right of adverbs. This is the *in situ* position for the lexical verb.[11]

Afrikaans also exhibits verb-second in embedded clauses, especially in informal registers and some dialects (Biberauer 2002; 2003; 2004). Although this does not necessarily negate the matrix/embedded asymmetry it sounds a cautionary note when comparing word orders. Thus, the usage of an embedded clause is not always sufficient to guarantee a base-generated word order as is the case for Dutch. Consequently, I often use adverbs and modal constructions to disambiguate structures. By using an adverb, embedded verb-second can be distinguished from the *in situ* order.

5.2.2 Complex initials

A curious feature about Afrikaans that distinguishes it from other West-Germanic languages is its capacity to form 'complex initials' (CIs). A complex initial is a construction in which more than one verb appears in the verb-second position. In other words, a complex predicate appears to have been formed. I will continue to use complex initial in this paper as a descriptive, analysis-neutral term for this phenomenon, since the term has been used at least ever since Ponelis (1993). However, I will use 'quirky verb second' to describe the derivation which I propose underlies it. The following examples are adapted from Ponelis (1993:326).

(12) a. *Sy kom vandag die boek lees*
she come today the book read
'She will read the book today'

b. *Sy kom lees vandag die boek*
She come read today the book
'She will read the book today'

In example (12a) the finite verb *kom*, a future modal, has moved to the second position. This is the paradigm expected based on verb-second phenomena in other Germanic verb-second languages. The state of affairs unique to Afrikaans is illustrated by (12b): in the second position, namely between the subject and the adverb, there are two verbs and not merely one as would have been expected. This example suggests not only that the formation of complex initials is possible, but that it occurs with direct linking verbs. However, it is when complex initials are formed with pseudo-coordinative predicate strings that deeply troubling questions are raised for the contemporary syntactic toolbox. Consider the following examples of complex initials formed with pseudo-coordinative verbal strings.

(13) a. *Hy sal die heeldag na die wolke lê en kyk*
he will the whole day at the clouds lie and look
'He'll lie looking at the clouds the entire day'

[11] Note that Afrikaans is a negative concord language with the negative-concord marker typically occurring in sentence final position.

b. *Hy lê die heeldag na die wolke ~~lê~~ en kyk*
he lie the whole day at the clouds and look
'He lies looking at the clouds the whole day long' (Robbers 1997:65)

c. *Hy lê en kyk die heeldag na die wolke ~~lê~~ ~~en~~ ~~kyk~~*
he lie and look the whole day at the clouds
'He lies looking at the clouds the whole day long' (Robbers 1997:65)

Example (13a) illustrates a typical instance of pseudo-coordination utilizing an ILV in Afrikaans. The underlined modal verb is in the second position and is on the left hand side of an adverbial phrase. The pseudo-coordinative verbal string is in a clause-final, *in situ* position. Note that the order of the pseudo-coordinative verbal string reflects the base-generated order: ILV $\gg$ LexV.

Example (13b) illustrates that the ILV can raise to second position in isolation stranding the remainder of the verbal string *in situ*. This is not a particularly surprising state of affairs given that any other West-Germanic verb-second language would behave in a similar way. The example demonstrates that the ILV is indeed the highest verb in the verbal string.

It is example (13c) that is puzzling. In this example, the entire pseudo-coordinative verbal string has moved to the second position to the left of an adverbial phrase. What is more, the pseudo-coordinative particle itself has been pied-piped into second position. I have used strikeout fonts to illustrate the original position of the verbal string as a theory-neutral device; at this point one is uncertain whether the verbal string is moved by remnant-movement (in which case there would only be a single trace, t_{VP}) or whether various head movements have derived the construction (in which case there may be more traces: t_{ILV}, $t_{LexVerb}$ etc). The exact nature of the representation will ultimately depend on what kind of analysis is chosen. In the following sections I will discuss the properties of these constructions.

Verbs entering into complex initial constructions

Complex initials typically include combinations of a lexical verb and either a DLV (14a), an ILV (14b) or both (14c) (Ponelis 1993:327).[12]

(14) a. *Gaan lees sy die boek?*
go read she the book
'Is she going to read the book?'(Ponelis 1993:326) [DLV+LexV]

b. *Sit en lees sy die boek?*
sit and read she the book
'Is she sitting and reading the book? /Is she busy reading the book'(Ponelis 1993:326) [ILV+LexV]

c. *Kom staan en lees hy die boeke?*
come stand and read he the books
'Does he come and read the books?' [DLV+ILV+LexV]

[12] Not all DLVs can occur in CI constructions (see chapter (7.A)).

Auxiliaries and modals do not enter into complex initials in combination with lexical verbs. The following examples below are from Ponelis (1993:326).[13]

(15) a. **Sy het gelees vandag die boek*
She AUX PST-read today the book
'She read the book today'(Ponelis 1993:326)

b. **Het gelees sy vandag die boek?*
Aux PST-read she today the book
'Did she read the book today?'(Ponelis 1993:326)

(16) a. *Sy moet die kinders help*
she must the children help
'She must help the children' (Robbers 1997:174)

b. **Sy moet help die kinders*
she must help the children
'She must help the children' (Robbers 1997:174)

In the (a) examples an auxiliary and a modal occur in the second position. However, it is not possible to create a CI in second position with a combination of an auxiliary or modal, and a lexical verb as the (b) examples demonstrate.

It has also been claimed by Robbers (1997) that CIs cannot occur if both verbs are modals.

(17) a. *Sy sal die kinders moet help*
she will the children must help
'She will have to help the children' (Robbers 1997:174)

b. *Sy sal moet die kinders help

(18) a. *Sy sou die boek moes gelees het*
she would the book must.PST PRT-read AUX.have
'She would have had to read the book' (Robbers 1997:174)

b. *Sy sou moes die boek gelees het

While these data do reflect common usage, it is still possible to have a verbal string that superficially looks like a complex initial with both verbs being modals.[14]

(19) *Sy sal moet die kinders help*
she will must the children help
'She will have to help the children'

[13]Den Besten (2002) treats the ILVs and DLVs as auxiliaries and seen from this perspective it might be claimed that auxiliaries do occur in CIs. What is clear, in any event is that HAVE and BE auxiliaries do not occur in CIs. Whether DLVs and ILVs are auxiliaries or not is a debate that I do not wish to engage in here.

[14]Thanks to Prof. Hans du Plessis (p.c.) for these examples.

(20) *Hy sal kan die bal skop*
he will can the ball kick
'He will be able to kick the ball'

(21) *Hulle sal wil die kinders leer*
they will want the children teach
'They will want to teach the children'

(22) *Sy sou moes die boek gelees het*
she will.PST must.PST the book PST-read AUX.have
'She had to have read the book'

(23) *Hulle sou wou die olifante sien*
they will.PST want.PST the elephants see
'They would have wanted to see the elephants'

However, when the same examples are placed in a question context they become ungrammatical. This demonstrates that they are not true complex initials. Thus the generalization stands that modals may not occur in complex initials.

(24) a. **Waarom sal moet sy die kinders help?*
why will must she the children help
'Why will she have to help the children?'

b. **Waarom sal kan hy die bal skop?*
why will can he the ball kick
'Why will he be able to kick the ball?'

The only way modals can occur in anything resembling a complex initial, is if they are coordinated with an overt coordinator. The coordinated complex predicate can occur in the second position, even in question contexts.

(25) a. *Jan kan en moet vandag skooltoe gaan!*
Jan can and must school-to go
'John can and must go to school today!'

b. *Kan en moet Jan skooltoe gaan?*
can and must Jan school-to go
'Can and must Jan go to school?'

It should be noted, however, that this kind of complex predicate does not exhibit the CI/SI alternation and is thus not the same as the ILV construction.

Optionality

A cardinal feature of complex initials is that they appear to be completely optional with posture verbs: if a verb can appear in a complex initial, it can also appear in a simplex initial.[15] As examples (12) and (13) show, there do not appear to be significant

[15] With the exception of CIs with DLV *loop* 'walk' (Du Plessis 1990) and some fossilised verbs. See the appendix to chapter (7).

semantic differences between the complex initial and simplex initial versions of the examples. The point is also demonstrated by the following pair.

(26) a. *Die heelagter laat die bal val*
the full-back let.CAUS the ball fall
'The full-back dropped the ball' (Van Niekerk 1995:150)

b. *Die heelagter laat val die bal*
the full-back let.CAUS fall the ball
'The full-back dropped the ball' (Van Niekerk 1995:150)

The optionality and overwhelming productivity of CIs shows that these constructions cannot all be analyzed as involving 'fossilized' complex predicates listed in the lexicon as single lexical items. However, there are a few instances of CIs which probably are fossilized. These are briefly discussed here. For instance *laat spaander*/*laat waai* 'run away, race away' (perhaps more equivalent to 'let's get out of here!') is a common collocation. In fact, *spaander* is a cranberry morpheme that does not appear independently.

(27) *Hy sal dan laat spaander na waar Charlie buite voor die*
he will then run out to where Charlie outside in front of the
ingang met luierende enjin wag
entrance with idling engine wait
'He will then run out to where Charlie is waiting outside the entrance with a running engine' (http://www.litnet.co.za/fiksie/hsteyn.asp (15.01.2004))

(28) *Goeie ding dat ons laat spaander het*
good thing that we run out AUX.have
'Good thing that we got out of there'
(http://www.litnet.co.za/fiksie/hanru04.asp (15.01.2004))

The fossilized *laat spaander* cannot enter into alternations between complex and simplex initials. This differentiates fossilized complex initials from their syntactic counterparts which do allow such alternations optionally.

(29) **Hy laat na waar Charlie buite wag spaander*
he let.CAUS to where Charlie outside wait V
'He runs out to where Charlie is waiting outside'

Although a few fossilized complex predicates like *laat spaander* do exist in Afrikaans, they are, predictably, neither numerous nor productive. This contrasts with the majority of CI constructions, which are very productive, optionally occur in SI contexts and are consequently not fossilized.

Generally, Minimalist syntactic theory does not handle optionality easily. There are at least two approaches to it: (i) deny that true optionality exists and attempt to show that the two variants exhibit syntactic of semantic differences of some kind or

(ii) accept that optionality exists but attempt to derive it from two equivalent notions of economy. I explore both these options in this dissertation. In chapter (6) I will explore the structural properties of these two variants and, to preempt my findings somewhat, will conclude that there is indeed true optionality. I will explore the second option in chapter (7).

Limitations on the number of verbs in a complex initial

Ponelis (1993) claims that there is a limit on the number of verbs in a complex initial. The following types of complex initial are found according to Ponelis (1993). Only one DLV and a lexical verb *or* an ILV and a lexical verb *or* a DLV, an ILV and a lexical verb can form a complex initial (Ponelis 1993).

i. An ILV selects a lexical verb as its complement: ILV ≫ LexV (30)
ii. A DLV selects a lexical verb as its complement: DLV ≫ LexV (31)
iii. A DLV selects an ILV as its complement: DLV ≫ ILV ≫ LexV (32)
iv. *A DLV selects a DLV as its complement: DLV ≫ DLV ≫ LexV (33)
v. *An ILV selects an ILV as its complement: ILV ≫ ILV ≫ LexV (34)

(30) *lê en slaap hulle?*
lie and sleep they
'Are they lying asleep?'

(31) *Kom slaap hulle?*
come sleep they
'Will they come and sleep?'

(32) *Gaan lê en slaap hulle?*
go lie and sleep they?
'Are they going to lie and sleep?' (Ponelis 1993:327)

(33) **Gaan laat bou hulle die sentrum?*
go let build they the centre
'Will they go and get the centre built?' (Ponelis 1993:327)

(34) **Sit en lê en slaap hulle?*
sit and lie and sleep they
'Are they lying asleep?'

In the first example, an ILV selects a lexical verb as its complement in a complex initial construction. In the second example, a DLV selects a lexical verb as its complement. The third example shows that a DLV selects an ILV complement with a lexical verb in a complex initial context. The fourth, ungrammatical, example illustrates two DLVs forming a complex initial. It is also worth noting that two ILVs cannot form a complex initial either. If this is true, then the generalization seems to be that there can only be one verb of each type in a complex initial, namely a DLV, and ILV and a lexical verb. Example (33) is grammatical on an OCo reading corresponding to *they*

are going somewhere in order to have the centre built. Note that the subject, i.e. *hulle* is not shared by all the verbs for this reading.

Complex initials and the domain of extraction

Complex initials are strictly clause bound. It is not possible to move a verb from an embedded clause to form part of a complex initial in the matrix clause.

(35) a. *Wie hoop Jan om goed te leer ken?*
who hope Jan C.INF well to learn know
'Who does Jan hope to get to know better'

b. **Wie hoop leer ken Jan om goed te?*
who hope learn know Jan C.INF well to

Example (35a) is an infinitival clause from which extraction is possible on independent grounds.[16] (35b) has a complex initial composed of the finite verb from the matrix clause and the verbal string from the embedded clause. The result is strongly ungrammatical. The same effect can be seen with a finite complement.

(36) a. *Jan weet iemand gaan sterf*
Jan know somebody go die
'Jan knows that somebody is going to die'

b. **Jan weet gaan sterf iemand*
Jan know go die somebody

The embedded verb cannot be part of a complex initial.

(37) a. *Jan het die koppie hoor val*
Jan AUX.have the cup hear fall
'Jan heard the cup fall'

b. *Jan hoor die koppie val*
Jan hear the cup fall
'Jan hears the cup fall'

c. *Jan hoor val die koppie

Example (37a) shows that a perception verb may form a verbal string with a verb in its complement. (37b) shows that a simplex initial may be formed by moving the perception verb to the second position. (37c) shows that it is impossible to create a complex initial with a perception verb and the embedded verb. These data shows that complex initial formation is strictly clause-bound.

CI formation also cannot extract a verb out of an island. Examples (38) and (39) show the impossibility of non-ATB extraction from a coordinate structure island and a complex NP island respectively.

[16] In Afrikaans, unlike Dutch, most infinitival clauses are of the *om te* type and do not have the purpose reading characteristic of Dutch *om te* clauses.

(38) a. *Jan skryf briewe en lees boeke*
Jan write letters and read books
'Jan writes letters and reads books'

b. **Jan skryf lees briewe en* t_{lees} *boeke*
Jan write read letters and t books

(39) a. *Jan skop die man [wie hom bekyk]*
Jan kick the man who him look-at
'Jan kicks the man who is looking at him'

b. **Jan skop bekyk die man [wie hom* t_{bekyk}*]*
Jan kick look-at the man who him t

Even in cases where WH movement from an embedded clause is possible, multiple verb movement is not possible.

(40) *Wat dink Bush dat Blair sê* t_{WH}*?*
What think Bush that Blair say t
'What does Bush think that Blair is saying?'

(41) **Wat dink sê Bush dat Blair* t_{WH} t_{se}*?*
What think think Bush that Blair t t

The fact that CIs respect general constraints on movement strongly suggest that they are derived by movement.

5.3 Accounts of complex initials

There are not many accounts of complex initials in the literature. Ponelis (1993), Roberge (1994) and Den Besten (2002: citing Den Besten (1988)) outline the possible antecedents of the construction and possible influences upon it.

Khoisan speakers were virtually assimilated into the early Cape colony and in addition, the Orange River varieties of Afrikaans came into contact with Khoisan speakers. Since various Khoisan languages do appear to have strings of verbs acting as single constituents (Collins 2002, Den Besten 1988; 2002), it is reasonable to suppose that the development of Afrikaans was triggered by the existence of a verbal compounding rule in these languages. However, Den Besten (2002) cautions that these constructions might not be verbal compounding but might be analyzable as VP topicalization (cf. Den Besten and Webelhuth 1990).[17] Thus, Khoisan influence might not necessarily be the only reason for the development of complex initials in Afrikaans. The question of Netherlandic vs. Khoisan origins for complex initials is also taken up by Ponelis (1993) who suggests that both may have played a role. Ponelis notes that

[17] But see Collins (2002) for a different approach to verbal compounding in ǂHoan in terms of head movement.

Khoisan is 'rich' in VV compounds. However, he also notes that 'the low level of lexicalization of complex initials does not accord well with extensive Khoisan influence on this subsystem' (Ponelis 1993:330).

There are some possible antecedents for Afrikaans complex initials in (early and dialectal) Dutch, in clause-initial imperative contexts.

(42) *Loopt haelt dan …die spijse*
go get then …the food
'Go then and the food' (Ponelis 1993:330)

(43) *Gaet souckt een ander medecijn*
go find a other medicine
'Go and find another remedy'(Ponelis 1993:330)

(44) *Ga geeftze nu de Vorst*
go give-her now the Earl
'Go and give her/it to the king now' (Ponelis 1993:330)

(45) *Loopt blaast de Lampen uyt*
walk blow the lamps out
'Go and blow out the lamps' (Ponelis 1993:330)

These have survived in some modern Dutch dialects. The following data are from the Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND 2005).[18]

(46) *Goan haalt e keer n pintje*
go get a time a beer
'Just go and get a beer!' [Brugge: West-Vlaanderen]

(47) *Gaan haalt die bestellinge maar ne keer*
go get that order just a time
'Just go and get that order!' [Eeklo: Oost-Vlaanderen]

In addition, there are examples of hendiadys-like constructions in Middle Dutch (Le Roux 1923, Robbers 1997, Roberge 1994).

(48) *Een waterlantsche Trijn sat eens ajuyn en schelde*
a from-Waterland Trijn sat once onions and peeled
'A Trijn from Waterland was once peeling onions' ((Robbers 1997:65)
originally from the 17th century author, Cats (Weynen 1965)) [Middle Dutch]

This example is actually exceptional in the Middle Dutch corpus. Middle Dutch more commonly has constructions of the following type (see also Ijbema 2003).

[18]The glosses are not entirely straight forward. *goan/gaan* 'go' may be an infinitive, while *haalt* 'fetch' presumably is second person plural.

(49) *hi lach ende sliep*
he lay and-AFF slept
'He lay sleeping' (Hoekstra 1999) [Middle Dutch]

There is also a pseudo-coordinative structure in Frisian called *imperativus pro infinitivo* (IPI) (Hoekstra 1997) which may have served as a possible antecedent, although this construction does not form complex initials.[19]

(50) *de plysje soe by him komme en helje him op*
the police would by him come-INF and pick.IMP him up
'The police would come by and pick him up' [Coordinative type]
(Hoekstra 1997:97)

(51) *ik ried jimme oan en drink net te folle kofje*
I advise you.PL on.PRT and drink.IMP not too much coffee
'I advise you not to drink too much coffee' [Subordinative type]
(Hoekstra 1997:98)

All these data indicate that there were certainly no shortage of possible Netherlandic antecedents for the Afrikaans construction.

Ponelis (1993) also suggests that the loss of verbal inflection during the early development of Afrikaans meant that finite and non-finite verb forms were no longer distinguishable.

> a finite verb is marked, by concord inflection, for combining directly with the subject, and the lack of this marking in non-finite verbs just as clearly indicates their lack of a direct link with the subject and bars them from occurring in finite position as part of a complex initial, as in Standard Dutch (Ponelis 1993:329).

Consequently, a lack of inflection meant that verb second could apply to both finite and non-finite verbs.

Another facilitating factor for complex-initial development was lexicalization (Ponelis 1993:328). Several complex initials are lexicalized and rarely occur as simplex initials. These include *gaan haal* 'fetch', *laat blyk* 'indicate', *laat geld* 'exercise (authority)', *laat kom* 'summon', *laat spaander* 'get going' and *laat staan* 'leave'. There are several problems with such an explanation however. It seems to me a chicken-or-egg explanation: did lexicalization precede complex-initial development, or did complex-initials

[19] Standard Dutch has a construction very similar to the Afrikaans posture verb construction, which utilizes the posture verbs *liggen* 'lie', *staan* 'stand', *zitten* 'sit' and more marginally verbs like *lopen* 'walk' and *hangen* 'hang' (Hoekstra 1999). However, the Dutch construction has an infinitival marker *te* selecting a verbal infinitival complement. The posture verb does not necessarily retain a lexical meaning but tends to denote durative aspect. Hoekstra (1999) claims that those varieties that lack a literal posture interpretation of the verb all have the following three characteristics (i) 1-2-3 word order in the verbal cluster (ii) IPP effects and (iii) no obligatory marking with *te* in aspectual infinitives.

gradually become lexicalized? The latter seems to me the most natural explanation (informally speaking), particularly when lexicalized VV compounds are particularly rare in Germanic.[20] Furthermore, Ponelis (1993) notes that although all 10 instances of *gaan haal* in a 300 000 word corpus were complex initials, the simplex initial variant (52b) is not ungrammatical (or even marked).

(52) a. *Gaan haal hy die kinders?*
go get he the children
'Will he fetch the children' (Ponelis 1993:329)

b. *Gaan hy die kinders haal?*
go he the children get
'Will he fetch the children' (Ponelis 1993:330)

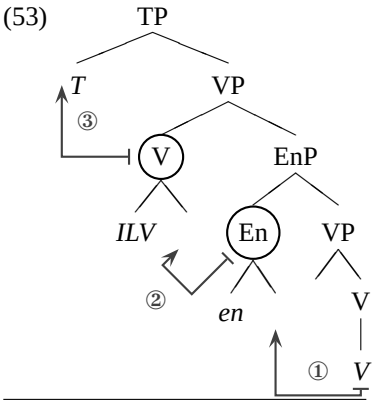
Finally, the lexicalization hypothesis does not explain the productivity of complex initials in Afrikaans.

Approaches to complex initials to date all suggest incorporation of the lexical verb into the linking verb (Den Besten 2002, Ponelis 1993, Robbers 1997). However, at least Ponelis (1993) and Robbers (1997) do not provide any analysis beyond suggesting that incorporation occurs. For instance, Robbers (1997) provides the following explanation.

> The embedded verbs [can] optionally accompany the linking verb under verb second. . . this is the result of incorporation of the main verb into the linking verb (Robbers 1997:172).

The specific case of ILVs are not discussed to any extent. However, it seems that Robbers (1997) espouses a stacked VP structure with a functional projection to host the coordinative particle. The following diagram is based on (Robbers 1997:179).

(53)



[20] Ponelis (1993) himself notes this saying:

> complex initials may be considered incipient compound verbs of a type well known in the languages of the world but uncommon though not completely unattested in Germanic, cf. the fixed verbal expressions in English: *let fly*, *let go*, and *make do* (Ponelis 1993:329).

I find it particularly interesting, that English examples are cited, and not Dutch ones which is unexpected given that Dutch is the most closely related language to Afrikaans.

This suggests that complex initials are formed by optional incorporation/right-adjunction of the lexical verb, first into the functional subordinating element which is the *en*, and then subsequently into the ILV. Finally, the entire incorporated complex raises to T. By referring to complex initial-formation as 'lexical' incorporation, Robbers attempts to distinguish it from 'syntactic' incorporation as evidenced in verb-raising contexts, which also allow excorporation in verb second contexts.[21] The problem with this approach is that it leaves important questions unanswered including the implementation of optionality, counter-cyclice right adjunction, the fact that CIs seem to be dependent on verb-second movement, and the semantic contribution of the coordinator and excorporation. In the following sections, I shall develop my own analysis of ILVs which will include a discussion of CIs.

5.4 Conclusion

In this section, I have provided a brief outline of the Afrikaans verbal system and some assumptions about its workings. It has been shown that Afrikaans verbs are not inflected for tense, person or number, although the remnants of tense-marking are still visible on some modals. Some assumptions about verb second have also been sketched. I have broadly adopted the analysis of verb second of Zwart (1997). I have also introduced a unique pseudo-coordinative structure in Afrikaans known as a complex initial. This section has demonstrated the following facts. Complex initials are a case of a complex predicate occurring in verb-second position. This construction appears to place a complex predicate into a position reserved exclusively for heads (second position) and is optional. The movement involved behaves like local, head movement. This construction potentially has great implications for analyses of verb movement as well as pseudo-coordination.

These constructions pose a number of intriguing questions for syntactic analysis including some of the following ones.

a. How do complex initials with ILVs relate to verbal pseudo-coordination more generally i.e. where do they fit into the typology developed in chapters one to three?
b. What is the nature of the moved, verbal constituent and how is it derived?
c. How does the underlying representation derive the meanings of complex initials, as well as the apparent optionality in the paradigm?
d. What are the implications of this construction for the nature of coordination generally?

The properties of complex initials formed with posture verbs (ILVs) will be explored in the coming chapters.

[21] She also notes that within the VO analysis of Dutch and Afrikaans, no distinction need be made between these two types of incorporation since verb-raising does not occur overtly in the VO analysis.